

Message Text

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OSD:HBROWN

EUR/RPM:JAFROEBE,JR

EUR/CE:RCBARKLEY

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O 110030Z MAY 78

FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMMEMBASSY BONN 2915/18

USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE

USNMR SHAPE PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 119859

CORRECTED COPY (CARBLED TEXT THROUGHOUT)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MPOL, NATO, AWACS, GW, IT

SUBJECT: NATO AWACS

1. FOLLOWING IS DRAFT LETTER FROM SECDEF TO MOD APEL
REGARDING AWACS. WOULD APPRECIATE YOUR COMMENTS BY COB
YOUR TIME, MAY 11. WE RECOGNIZE THAT AGREEMENT ON
GEPARD IS UNLIKELY, AND AGREEMENT ON TELEPHONE SYSTEM
WOULD REQUIRE CONSIDERABLE MOVEMENT BY FRG.

2. DRAFT LETTER PROPOSES NEGOTIATIONS NONETHELESS,
BECAUSE OF OUR READING OF APEL LETTER, QUOTED HERE FOR
YOUR REFERENCE: BEGIN TEXT:

DEAR COLLEAGUE,
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FOLLOWING UP OUR RECENT TALKS IN BONN ON 13 APRIL AND IN
FREDERIKSHAVN ON 18 AND 19 APRIL, I SHOULD LIKE TO PRESENT
ONCE MORE A FEW CONSIDERATIONS ON THE LTDP AND THE
TRANSATLANTIC ARMAMENT DIALOG.

THE TASK ASSIGNED BY THE NATO SUMMIT TO THE MINISTERS
OF DEFENSE OF THE ALLIANCE ON MAY 10 LAST YEAR
REQUESTING THEM TO DEVELOP A LONG TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM

FOR NATO FOR THE EIGHTIES, IS NEARING COMPLETION.

THROUGH A DETERMINED EFFORT, THE VARIOUS TASK FORCES HAVE PREPARED COMPREHENSIVE RECOMMENDATIONS WHICH WE ARE GOING TO DISCUSS ON MAY 18 AND 19. IN PRINCIPLE, I APPRECIATE THE DRAFT LTDP VERY MUCH, AND THERE IS NO DOUBT IN MY MIND THAT WE SHALL SUCCEED AT WASHINGTON LATE IN MAY IN MAKING THE POLITICAL SIGNAL OF THE LONDON SUMMIT A PALPABLE SUCCESS THROUGH FEASIBLE JOINT ACTIVITIES. AS YOU KNOW, THE EUROPEAN ALLIES SUBSCRIBE TO THAT US INITIATIVE AND TO THE COMMITMENT OF THE UNITED STATES TO THE LTDP. BUT EACH OF US HAS TO DETERMINE HIS SHARE IN THE LIGHT OF THE REAL CAPABILITIES OF THE NATIONS CONCERNED, AND HAS TO ENSURE THAT THE COLLECTIVE EFFORTS OF ALL PARTNERS WILL TRANSLATE INTO POSITIVE RESULTS.

LET ME REMIND YOU FIRST THAT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY ALREADY HAD DEVELOPED PLANS FOR MAJOR INVESTMENTS FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE DEFENSE OF NATO EUROPE TO BE IMPLEMENTED BY THE MID-EIGHTIES. MOREOVER, WE ARE INCREASING OUR DEFENSE BUDGET BY 3 PERCENT PER ANNUM IN REAL TERMS, AS IS IN KEEPING WITH OUR COMMITMENTS UNDER THE 1977 MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE. WE
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ARE NEVERTHELESS CONSIDERING OUR CAPABILITIES OF STRUCTURING OUR PLANS FOR A LONGER TERM ALONG THE LINES RECOMMENDED BY THE ALLIANCE. OUR SUBSTANTIAL CONTRIBUTION TO THE LTDP SHOULD ALSO BE SEEN AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF OUR EXTENSIVE DEFENSE EFFORT AIMED AT MEETING THE OVERALL FORCE GOALS.

EVEN NOW, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY MAKES A MORE THAN PROPORTIONATE CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEFENSE EFFORT OF THE ALLIANCE. THIS IS EVIDENCED IN PARTICULAR BY OUR

-- SHARE IN THE OVERALL MANPOWER OF THE ARMED FORCES AVAILABLE TO THE ALLIANCE,

-- SHARE IN THE "TEETH FORCES",

-- FINANCIAL SHARE IN NATO COMMON-FUNDING PROJECTS.

MOREOVER, THE VOLUME OF OUR MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO NATO ALLIES RANKS ONLY SECOND TO THAT OF THE UNITED STATES. IN SPITE OF ALL THIS, THE FACT IS SOMETIMES OVERLOOKED THAT THE SHARE OF FEDERAL REPUBLIC IN EUROPEAN COMMUNITY PROJECTS AND EC OFFSET FUNDS IS ABOVE AVERAGE AND THAT BY CONTRIBUTING THIS SHARE WE REDUCE THE SHARES FALLING TO OTHER ALLIES. THIS, TOO, IS ONE OF OUR MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STABILITY OF THE ALLIANCE. IN VIEW OF THE PARTICULAR GEOGRAPHIC SITUATION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC IN NATO'S ADVANCED

DEFENSE LINE, I REGARD THOSE EFFORTS AS A MATTER OF COURSE. NONETHELESS, EVEN OUR CAPABILITIES ARE LIMITED, AND THAT WE CONTRIBUTE MUST NOT INVALIDATE THE SOLIDARITY PRINCIPLE ADOPTED BY THE ALLIANCE. SECOND TO NONE BUT THE UNITED STATES, THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC HAS ASSUMED THE HIGHEST DEFENSE BURDEN IN THE ALLIANCE. IN THE LAST ANALYSIS, OUR FUTURE CONTRIBUTION WILL HAVE TO BE GOVERNED BY THESE FACTS.

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IN THE COURSE OF LTDP ACTIVITIES THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY HAS CATEGORIZED 130 OF THE APPROXIMATELY 180 RECOMMENDATIONS MADE BY THE TASK FORCES AS "AGREED" OR "ENDORSED IN PRINCIPLE". LESS THAN 50 WERE INCLUDED

IN THE CATEGORY "FURTHER STUDIES". ONLY 6 OF THE PROPOSALS WERE REJECTED.

WITH REGARD TO IMPLEMENTATION THE FACT SHOULD BE BORNE IN MIND THAT THE COMMITMENT OF FUNDS UNDER CONTRACTS, MEMORANDA OF UNDERSTANDING, AND LEGAL OBLIGATIONS IS NATURALLY HEAVIEST IN THE SHORT AND MEDIUM TERM. THE TOP PRIORITY MEASURES PROPOSED IN THE LONG TERM DEFENSE PROGRAM, HOWEVER, REQUIRE - CONTRARY TO ALL PLANNING EXPERIENCE - ABOUT 60 PERCENT OF THE FUNDS TO BE AVAILABLE IN THE MEDIUM TERM.

IN THIS CONTEXT, THERE IS ANOTHER POINT OF VIEW THAT I FEEL IS ESSENTIAL: REGARDLESS OF THE FINANCIAL ASPECTS, POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS MUST BE SEEN AS A MATTER OF PRIORITY. FEDERAL MINISTER GEORG LEBER ALREADY POINTED THAT OUT SEVERAL TIMES. IT CANNOT BE IN THE INTEREST OF THE ALLIANCE, NOR CAN IT BE THE AIM OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY, FOR HER TO SET THE PACE OF NEW ARMAMENTS EFFORTS AND TO DRIFT INTO A ROLE OF MILITARY LEADERSHIP WITHIN THE GROUP OF THE EUROPEAN ALLIES. WE DO NOT ASPIRE TO THAT ROLE. THEREFORE, WE SHOULD RATHER MAKE AN ATTEMPT AT UNDERLINING CLEARLY THE PROJECTS PLANNED ALREADY BY THE INDIVIDUAL NATIONS AND AT MAKING THE OVERALL ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE ALLIANCE THE YARDSTICK OF SUCCESS IN WASHINGTON. IT MIGHT BE OF ASSISTANCE TO THE ATTAINMENT OF THIS GOAL TO REALIZE THAT THE TRANSATLANTIC

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ARMAMENTS DIALOG IS ONE OF THE CORNERSTONES OF OUR FUTURE COLLECTIVE EFFORTS.

WE WELCOME THE STATEMENTS OF OUR PRESIDENT AND YOUR ADMINISTRATION ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE TWO-WAY STREET. POSITIVE APPROACHES COULD BE THE PROEUREMENT

OF THE TANK GUN AND THE PROPOSED PURCHASE OF GERMAN UTILITY VEHICLES FOR USAREUR. ON BALANCE, THE CURRENT SITUATION IS UNSATISFACTORY TO US.

IN OUR PERSONAL TALKS I EXPLAINED TO YOU THAT IN PRINCIPLE MY ATTITUDE TOWARDS AWACS IS A FAVORABLE ONE AND THAT WE ATTEMPT TO BRING THAT PROJECT TO A SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION AT AN EARLY DATE. IN VIEW OF THE ABOVE-MENTIONED SITUATION IN RESPECT OF THE TWO-WAY STREET; HOWEVER, IT IS VERY DIFFICULT TO PERSUADE THE PARLIAMENT OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC TO APPROVE THE PURCHASE OF AWACS.

OUR PARLIMENT WISHES TO SEE AN APPROPRIATE COMPENSATION, BUT THIS IS EXACTLY WHAT IS STILL LACKING. SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS ON THE GEPART WEAPON SYSTEM AND THE TELEPHONE SYSTEM FOR THE US ARMY IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC COULD BE A . GOOD SIGNAL AND SHOULD NOT ONLY BE REGARDED UNDER COST ASPECTS. WE ARE PREPARED TO ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS.

I AM LOOKING FORWARD WITH GREAT EXPECTATIONS TO THE MID-MAY DPC MINISTERIAL MEETING. THE LTDP WILL PROVIDE AN EXCELLENT BASIS TO US ON WHICH TO COORDINATE MORE EFFECTIVELY OUR COLLECTIVE EFFORTS WITHIN THE ALLIANCE IN THE FUTURE AND TO IMPLEMENT THE MEASURES REQUIRED FOR AN EFFICIENT AND EFFECTIVE DEFENSE PLANNING.

SINCERLY YOURS,

SGD: HANS APEL

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END TEXT.

3. BEGIN TEXT DRAFT SECDEF REPLY:

THE HONORABLE HANS APEL
MINISTER OF DEFENSE
MINISTRY OF DEFENSE
POSTFACH 1328
5300 BONN 1
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

DEAR COLLEAGUE:

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR HELPFUL LETTER ON THE LTDP. AS I SEE IT, THERE ARE FOUR KEY ISSUES ON WHICH THE FRG AND US NEED TO WORK TOGETHER TO ACHIEVE A SUCCESSFUL SUMMIT AND A STRONGER NATO DEFENSE: (1) AN ALLIANCE AWACS; (2) DEPLOYING FORWARD A SECOND DUTCH BRIGADE; (3) A BOLD LTDP; AND (4) LAUNCHING SEVERAL JOINT DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AS A FRUITFUL LONG TERM WAY TO GET MORE OF

A TWO-WAY STREET. THIS LETTER ADDRESSES AWACS; I WILL WRITE YOU SHORTLY ABOUT THE OTHER THREE.

I KNOW YOU AGREE THAT AWACS WILL ADD GREATLY TO THE MILITARY CAPABILITY OF THE ALLIANCE AND THAT IT IS AN IMPORTANT POLITICAL SYMBOL OF ALLIANCE COOPERATION. UNLESS WE GO FORWARD SOON, COSTS WILL BEGIN TO RISE. FOR ALL THESE REASONS, IT IS VERY IMPORTANT IN MY VIEW THAT AT THE DPC NEXT WEEK MINISTERS COMMIT IN PRINCIPLE TO AIM FOR SIGNATURE BY COUNTRIES OF THE AWACS PROGRAM AGREEMENT LATER THIS YEAR. I REALIZE THAT THE BUNDESTAG PROBABLY CANNOT COMPLETE ACTION WHICH WOULD ENABLE THE
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FRG ACTUALLY TO ENTER INTO SUCH AN AGREEMENT BY THE TIME OF THE SUMMIT, BUT I BELIEVE AN INTERIM COMMITMENT WOULD SERVE TO MOVE THE PROJECT FORWARD WHILE LEAVING TIME FOR NECESSARY NATIONAL PROCESSES TO BE COMPLETED.

FUNDS COMMITTED TO THE NATO AWACS PROGRAM WILL BE DEPLETED AT THE END OF JUNE. UNLESS WE CAN PERSUADE OUR OTHER COLLEAGUES TO AGREE TO AT LEAST AN INTERIM FUNDING ARRANGEMENT TO 1 OCTOBER TO SUSTAIN WORK ALREADY UNDERWAY UNTIL WE ARE ALL IN A POSITION TO SIGN A FIRM PROGRAM AGREEMENT, INITIAL DEVELOPMENT WORK ON THE STANDARDIZED COMPUTER WOULD BE DELAYED. ANY DELAY WOULD RISK A MAJOR COST ESCALATION BECAUSE WE COULD LOSE THE OPPORTUNITY TO MERGE THE US CONFIGURATION INTO A US-NATO STANDARD CONFIGURATION. WE CANNOT GO IT ALONE BECAUSE OF RESTRICTIONS PLACED ON US BY THE CONGRESS. STRONGLY AFFIRMATIVE ACTION BY MINISTERS AT THE DPC -- SUCH AS AGREEING TO AN INTERIM FUNDING ARRANGEMENT -- WOULD HELP TO JUSTIFY TO THE U.S. CONGRESS A CHANGE IN PRESENT RESTRICTIONS AND WOULD ALSO PROVIDE A BASIS FOR MY

REQUESTING OF THEM APPROPRIATE FY79 FUNDING (OUR FISCAL YEAR 1979 BEGINS OCT 1, 1978).

I AM DEEPLY CONCERNED THAT A FAILURE ON OUR PART TO REACH EVEN SUCH AN INTERIM ARRANGEMENT AS I HAVE DESCRIBED WILL CAST A PALL OVER ANY OTHER COOPERATIVE UNDERSTANDINGS THAT WE REACH AT THE SUMMIT. AWACS IS THE ONLY NEAR TERM COOPERATIVE PROGRAM PENDING BEFORE THE ALLIANCE. EVERY TIME WE TALK WITH THE PRESS ABOUT SUMMIT PROSPECTS, THEY ASK WHETHER AWACS WILL BE SETTLED FINALLY AT THE SUMMIT. I'M SURE YOU WILL UNDERSTAND MY CONCERN ABOUT THE ADVERSE IMPACT ON THE ALLIANCE IF WE AGREE GENERALLY ON BOLD NEW ENDEAVORS FOR THE FUTURE BUT CANNOT AGREE SPECIFICALLY ON THE SINGLE MAJOR INITIATIVE THAT IS READY FOR IMPLEMENTATION NOW.

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I AM ATTACHING A PAPER THAT SUMMARIZES THE ECONOMIC BENEFITS TO THE FRG FROM THE NATO AWACS PROGRAM. IT SHOWS THAT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC STANDS TO RECOUP FROM THE PROGRAM ITSELF VIRTUALLY ITS ENTIRE CONTRIBUTION TO THE PROGRAM. THE CLAIM WHICH SOME MAKE THAT OTHER PROCUREMENTS ARE NECESSARY TO COMPENSATE FINANCIALLY FOR THE AWACS PARTICIPATION IS THEREFORE, I BELIEVE, INACCURATE. NEVERTHELESS, I TAKE YOUR POINT ABOUT THE POLITICAL NEED FOR GREATER TRAFFIC ON THE SO-CALLED TWO-WAY STREET. I KNOW YOU ARE AWARE THAT THIS ADMINISTRATION INTENDS TO DO ITS BEST, AS INDICATED BY OUR DECISION ON THE TANK GUN. INDEED, BOTH THE SECRETARY OF STATE AND I LAST WEEK EXPENDED CONSIDERABLE PERSONAL EFFORT IN SUCCESSFULLY PERSUADING THE HOUSE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE TO REVERSE ITS TENTATIVE DECISION TO POSTPONE AUTHORIZATION FOR THE 120 MM GUN. I TRUST THAT A SIMILAR EFFORT WITH THE BUNDESTAG IS CONTEMPLATED BY YOU AND OTHER SENIOR OFFICIALS WITH RESPECT TO AWACS.

IN THAT CONNECTION, YOU MAY ASSURE THE BUNDESTAG THAT WE ARE CLOSE TO CONTRACTING FOR A LARGE BUY (ABOUT \$100 MILLION) OF ADMINISTRATIVE VEHICLES. THESE VEHICLES ARE ATTRACTIVE TO US BECAUSE THEY ARE A COST EFFECTIVE SOLUTION TO OUR REQUIREMENTS. FURTHER, I AM PREPARED TO AGREE TO YOUR SUGGESTION THAT WE NEGOTIATE WITH RESPECT TO THE TELEPHONE SYSTEM AND THAT COST WOULD NOT BE THE ONLY CRITERION. I THINK YOU WILL AGREE, HOWEVER, THAT THE PRICE MUST BE REASONABLE; THE PRICE PROPOSED BY THE BUNDESPOST DOES NOT SO FAR MEET THIS TEST SINCE, I AM TOLD, IT IS SOME THREE TIMES THAT AT WHICH WE CAN BUY COMPARABLE US EQUIPMENT. ON GEPARD, I SHOULD NOTE THAT
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THE FRG HAS NEVER GIVEN US A SPECIFIC LEASING PROPOSAL SINCE WE BROACHED THE IDEA OF A LEASE SOME TIME AGO. I WOULD BE PREPARED TO CONSIDER FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS IF THE FRG DID SO ON REASONABLE TERMS, THOUGH AS I TOLD YOU LAST MONTH I AM NOT OPTIMISTIC ABOUT REACHING AGREEMENT.

WE HAVE ALREADY, OF COURSE, PROPOSED COOPERATIVE DEVELOPMENT OF SEVERAL FAMILIES OF ADVANCED WEAPONS AND EQUIPMENT WHICH WOULD RESULT IN CONSIDERABLE DOLLAR FLOW TO THE FRG. WE ALSO HAVE OFFERED AIM-9L, MOD FLIR, JTIDS, STINGER, AND PATRIOT FOR COPRODUCTION. THE FIRST TWO ARE NOW UNDERWAY, AND WE HAVE JUST SIGNED AN MOU FOR JOINT DEVELOPMENT OF A MEDIUM RANGE ROCKET SYSTEM. I THINK YOU WILL AGREE THAT THIS PROMISING PROGRESS DEMONSTRATES GOOD FAITH.

I AM ALSO ENCOURAGED BY WORD THAT MINISTER RUFFINI IS MOVING TOWARD INCREASING ITALIAN PAYMENTS TO AT LEAST \$5 MILLION A YEAR THROUGH 1983, WITH THE REMAINDER TO FOLLOW OVER THE NEXT FOUR TO FIVE YEARS. THIS IS A VERY SUBSTANTIAL IMPROVEMENT IN THE ITALIAN POSITION, TAKEN IN PART TO DEMONSTRATE POLITICALLY ITALY'S DEDICATION TO THE ALLIANCE. IT IS A PARTICULARLY COURAGEOUS ACT IN LIGHT OF THE NEAR CRISIS CONDITIONS IN ROME.

IN SUMMARY, LET ME EMPHASIZE THAT THERE IS A PRESSING MILITARY AND POLITICAL NEED FOR AWACS. MY GOVERNMENT COUNTS ON YOUR GOVERNMENT'S STRONG SUPPORT IN THIS MATTER.

I AM LOOKING FORWARD TO SEEING YOU AGAIN IN BRUSSELS ON THE 18TH. SINCERELY, HAROLD BROWN. END TEXT.

ECONOMIC RETURN TO THE FRG FROM THE NATO AWACS PROGRAM

(\$M 1977)

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PROPOSED FRG DIRECT ECONOMIC SHARE RETURN

ACQUISITION PHASE

AIRCRAFT ACQUISITION -----	484	207 (AFTER FLOWBACK)
GROUND ENVIRONMENT	43	19
BASE CONSTRUCTION	21	48
ADMINISTRATION	13	3
SUBTOTAL	561	277

OPERATIONS PHASE (20 YEARS)

0 AND S COSTS/EXPENDITURES	560	820
TOTAL	1121	1097

OVER 20 YEARS THE DIRECT RETURN FROM ACQUISITION EXPENDITURES AND RETURN FROM 0 AND S EXPENDITURES AT THE MOB WILL VIRTUALLY EQUAL TOTAL FRG EXPENDITURES FOR THE PROGRAM. (SEE ASTERISK BELOW).

THE FRG WILL BENEFIT FROM AS MANY AS 1000 INDUSTRIAL JOBS GENERATED DURING ACQUISITION AND 2000 CIVILIAN JOBS AT THE MOB. THERE WILL ALSO BE TRANSFER OF HIGH

TECHNOLOGY IN JDAR, DATA PROCESSING AND COMMUNICATIONS
EQUIPMENT. (BOEING ESTIMATES.)
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ASTERISK: ALL DATA BASED ON NATO P0/78/18, MARCH 7,
1978 (AS AMENDED), "PROGRAM PACKAGE PROPOSAL."

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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